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Japan and the League of Nations.

By Sen Katayama.

The Japanese newspapers publish sensational reports regarding the intention of the Japanese government to withdraw from the League of Nations. The Minister for War, Araki, who is a much greater master of agitation than of strategy, has again given an interview in which he threatens the League of Nations with Japan's withdrawal, and holds out the prospect of a crisis in the League of Nations. **The roles are divided. Japan threatens and puts forward demands and the League of Nations submits.** Everything proceeds just as the Franco-Japanese allies prepare with every means of lies and deception. This is shown by the negotiations in Geneva and also in Shanghai, where up to now the Japanese "threats" have always made the greatest impression on the League of Nations and its commission.

A memorandum which was submitted by the Japanese Under Secretary of State Moraky, a pupil of the notorious Tanaka, to the members of the Cabinet on December 6, throws a glaring light on the latest Japanese threats. It is to be clearly seen from this memorandum, which was published in the Chinese newspaper "Tientsin Ta Kung Pao", that the latest Japanese threats to the League of Nations have as their object to cause Manchuria to be declared a colony according to international law and to be recognised as a mandatory territory to be held by Japan.

The memorandum submitted by Moraky is to a certain extent the continuation of the notorious Tanaka memorandum. Moraky's memorandum states:

1. We must immediately bring into being the independent State of the North East, i.e. Manchuria, in order that treaties can immediately be concluded between China and Japan and China and other Powers regarding Manchuria and Mongolia. This would open new perspectives for our Empire in Manchuria and Mongolia. Manchuria and Mongolia must now be declared independent free States in order to divert the

Europeans and Americans. We can then attempt to acquire a mandate over these two States.

2. In order to divert the attention of the world a governor-system must be set up for Manchuria and Mongolia. This system could take into its hands the military control and function against the attacks of the Chinese and for the protection of the independent States. We could also control the policy and finances of this independent State, and thereby bring about our mandatory rule.

3. After the founding of the independent State, all customs houses are to be immediately centralised in one hand; if a third Power should protest against this, Japan can make the proposal to share the foreign loans and to determine the rate of interest to be paid by the new State. The Powers will accordingly recognise the independent State and at the same time Japan as its protector.

4. Reorganisation of the Southern Manchurian railways must be carried out and further capital invested in them. All the existing railways in Manchuria and Mongolia, all fresh railway construction and all other forms of communication, all branches of industry, finance, ports etc. must be placed under our control.

Following this the memorandum contains a comprehensive financial plan for controlling Manchuria as a colony. There then follows point 6 of the memorandum, outlining the strategic plan of further operations. According to the railway plan of the Mukden government, the Singalin mountains alone will not form a defensive wall for Mongolia and Manchuria, and of course also not for Japan. "We must use the opportunity to concentrate strong bodies of troops there. This must be done as soon as the ports are free of ice. This concentration of troops shall serve not only to consolidate our defensive capacity but also for the purpose of annexing Manchuria."

And finally, there is put forward a plan for "combating bandits", which consists in the Japanese government buying the bandits for their own purposes: Chinchow is already in our hand. We have not yet occupied Jehol and Mongolia. We must at all costs advance there in the near future under the pretext of fighting bandits. But as the bandits are too strong we must conduct a fierce fight against them from the outside, but in reality entice them and win them for our purposes. The rules for this are as follows:

a) Anybody who comes to us with a revolver receives 30 dollars; anybody who comes with a rifle receives 60 dollars.

b) anybody who comes to us with a troop receives a corresponding officer's rank.

From this memorandum it is to be seen that the Japanese are only waiting until the harbours are free of ice in order to land fresh troops in Manchuria. They have already commenced combating bandits, their aim being to drive them into Soviet territory. Weapons and munitions for the Japanese troops are being feverishly dispatched from Europe.

This memorandum is also a striking proof that the Japanese, along with the League of Nations, are resorting to every method of lying and deception in order that the working class of Europe shall not realise how the fight against the Soviet Union is being prepared. Every consignment of weapons from Europe and America to the Far East serves the purpose of the armed colonisation of Manchuria, of war against China and military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Japanese workers and poor peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Japan, are doing their duty by fighting against their own oppressors for the protection of China, against its partitioning, for the defence of Soviet China and the Soviet Union. They are acting against the war. This is shown by the circumstance that hundreds of soldiers are being sent back from the Yangtse valley and Manchuria to Japan for mutinying. The Japanese workers expect that the workers of Europe and America will also finally act and that they will prevent the transport of war material to Japan.

POLITICS

The Home Policy of the "Lesser Evil".

By Th. Neubaue r (Berlin).

On March 17th there commenced the much-advertised action against the national socialists. "House searches at the Nazis", "Prussia takes energetic action—preparations for putsch discovered" announced the "Vorwärts" in big headlines. Braun and Severing as fighters against fascism, the social democracy with the iron front as bulwark of the German working class against Hitler's murder band, what a splendid election sensation this would be!

The "Vorwärts" of March 17 also published a long report of the Prussian Minister for the Interior on the results of the house searches. That which the Social democratic Minister for the Interior Severing reported regarding Hitler's civil-war army was certainly not new; the declaration that the Prussian government would no longer look on at these fascist preparations for civil war we had also often heard before. But this time the manoeuvre of the social democratic party collapsed more quickly than was expected. On the very same day on which Severing made his disclosures, Hitler was able to inform the press that Gröner, the Reichs Minister for the Interior, had already been informed of the intended mobilisation of the Nazi storm detachments and had sanctioned this. Gröner confirmed this publicly!

On the following day, Gröner, even more openly disassociated himself from Severing when he received the two national socialist deputies Göhring and Frank. This attitude of Gröner was a very nasty rebuff to the Prussian government and the social democracy. There was already talk of an open conflict. Severing announced that he would complain to the Reichs Chancellor Brüning.

On March 21st, Hitler brought an action in the State Court in Leipzig against the Prussian government for the return of the confiscated material. The proceedings before the Supreme Court ended with the parties coming to an agreement. Severing agreed to hand back the confiscated material. That

was the end of the glorious action by Severing. Hitler's civil-war army was not dissolved, none of its leaders were arrested, nor was the army disarmed: that is the social-democratic fight against national socialism. Severing has not complained to Brüning; the papers declare that there was never any conflict between Severing and Gröner, the social democratic party has forgiven General Gröner everything. The Hitler party may go on arming for civil war; it can rely on Gröner's fatherly tolerance; and Gröner can rely upon his Hindenburg socialists; they will also in future give him a vote of confidence whenever necessary. For Gröner is for the social democratic party the "lesser evil"!

This home policy of the "lesser evil" was rendered specially interesting by the statement of the representative of the Prussian Government at the proceedings before the Court, that on March 8th, Gröner sent a letter to the Prussian government in which he warned it of national socialist plans for a putsch.

The Berlin "Börsenzeitung" maintains that as regards this letter Gröner was the victim of a "Left inclined" permanent official, Haentchel. At the same time, it is asserted in other quarters that the chief instigator of Gröner's friendly attitude to Hitler is General von Schleicher. Of course, these clique struggles of the Ministerial bureaucrats are only the expression of political fraction fights within the German bourgeoisie.

The more difficult the economic situation of the German capitalist class becomes, the sharper their inner contradictions are bound to become. The process of economic collapse is still going on; the bourgeoisie will be compelled to impose fresh unbearable sacrifices on the working class. A fresh reduction of the social services is about to take place; a new campaign against wages is proceeding. It is now announced that the President of the national federation of German industry, Krupp von Bohlen intends to submit fresh demands of trust capital to Brüning. But how shall the German capitalist class carry out this policy without the support of the social fascist leaders?

This is the reason why a part of the German financial capitalists are against deliberately discarding the irreplaceable aid of the social democrats by staking all their cards on Hitler. For this part of the German bourgeoisie it is not a question of: social democrats or national socialists, but social democratic party plus Hitler! They want to make use of the services of both for the purpose of rescuing bankrupt German capitalism. In Brunswick they allow a Nazi Minister to govern, and in Prussia a few socialists. They need the "Iron Front" just as much as they need Hitler's storm detachments against the red class front. They fear nothing more than that the collapse of their main social support in the masses, the social democratic party, might drive millions of workers into the Communist Party.

This situation of German home politics determines the social democratic demagogy of the "lesser evil". Hindenburg, Brüning, Gröner and the circles of finance capital are neither a "pillar of democracy" nor a "protection, against fascism", but they have recognised that the actual relations of the class forces in Germany do not yet allow the bourgeoisie to adopt the straightest path for crushing the working class. They fear that the power of the proletariat is too great to allow an open fascist policy of violence to be undertaken without running the risk of a revolution. The power of the proletariat: that is the strength of the Communist movement, the force and authority of the C.P. of Germany, its ideological influence over the masses, the attractive power of Communism for the broad strata of social democratic and christian workers.

120,000 Paris Workers Demonstrate against Murder by Police and Imperialist War.

Paris, March 26 1932.

The funeral of the unemployed building worker Fritsch, who was shot by the Paris police a few days ago, assumed the form of a powerful fighting demonstration of the Paris workers against this act of murder, against the war in the Far East and the preparations of the imperialists for intervention against the Soviet Union.

With shouts of "Murder government!" "Down with imperialist war!" "Long live the Soviets!" and the singing of the "International" and the "Young Guard", 120,000 workers demonstrated over four hours through the streets of Paris.

The Czech Agent of French Imperialism Speaks.

By Viktor Stern (Prague).

On March 22nd the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister **Dr. Benes** delivered a speech before the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee on three problems of foreign policy: **The war in the Far East** and the attitude of the **League of Nations** to this question, the **"Disarmament" Conference** and finally, the plan for a **Danube Federation**. He endeavoured in the course of his speech to gloss over important and decisive facts, at the same time, however, his speech contained a number of open admissions which reveal the **seriousness of the situation**.

Benes sees the cause of the "conflict" "which is developing into a war", in the strivings of China for greater national independence, and in the great political and economic interests of Japan in China. This "socialist" expresses his hostility towards the Chinese people and above all towards the Chinese revolution and his sympathies for the Japanese robbers quite openly in the following words:

"It is true that China has here employed means which everyone must reject: one-sided non-observance of the treaties, economic boycott and the stirring up of a big anti-foreign movement. Its inner disorganisation and the prolonged civil war have not brought any sympathy for China."

It would be impossible to put forward the standpoint of France and of Czech imperialism more shamelessly and openly than does here on behalf of a government which includes 7 socialists, 4 of whom are members of the I.L. International. The fact that Benes pretends to criticise Japan and declares that it has broken the Kellogg Pact and also the League of Nations Covenant, does not in any way alter the fact that he openly supports Japan. According to Benes, the only fault committed by Japan, is that before resorting to force it did not submit its complaints against the Chinese breach of treaty and the Chinese boycott to the League of Nations. Benes goes still further. He declares:

"The great Powers of Europe and America have common interests with Japan insofar as they defend themselves against the nationalist, anti-foreign emancipation movement of China; on the other hand, they fear that Japan will acquire a great economic preponderance in China . . ."

Thus we have confirmation of the fact that Japan is fighting on behalf of the whole imperialist world, and that at the same time the imperialist antagonisms are intensified as a result of its invasion in China. The only thing that Benes intentionally omitted to mention is the fact that the imperialist world stands behind Japan in so far as a war means an immediate attack against the Soviet Union. How great and immediate the danger of a world war has become is plainly evident even from the cautious words of Benes who declares:

"If it came to a conflict, in which another State apart from China and Japan would necessarily be drawn in then it is clear **where all this could lead to.**" (My emphasis V. St.)

Benes also throws valuable light on the true role of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. In order that his hostile utterances against the Chinese people may not be misunderstood, he praises the executioners of the Chinese people and declares:

"China itself . . . is preparing for its great new future and is itself fighting against inner chaos and anarchy. Hitherto its success in this respect has been but small and slow. In some provinces Communist agitation has obtained the upper hand . . ."

Benes thereby reveals a further reason for the general imperialist invasion of China. The pause in the fighting which was enforced as a result of the heroic resistance of the Chinese people is of course represented by Benes as a success for the League of Nations, and he endeavours to create peace illusions by the lying assertion that Japan has already begun to evacuate China. Nevertheless, he is obliged to admit that **the dispute can still last for a long time and lead to new conflicts**. For Czechoslovakia the most important thing is to make the League of Nations so strong and to accord it

such powers that it would be able to prevent such incidents in Europe. Benes thus seeks to use the indignation against Japan in order to create feeling in favour of France's League of Nations army for the maintenance of the peace treaties and above all against the Soviet Union. **Regarding the danger of a war against the Soviet Union and the attitude of Czechoslovakia in the event of such a war, and also regarding the question of the delivery of munitions, Benes did not say a single word.**

In that part of his speech in which he dealt with the "Disarmament" Conference, Benes declared that at the beginning of April there will take place "the main fight over the political line of the Conference". Benes openly admitted that **behind the problems of disarmament there stand "all the questions of present-day world politics"**, that in particular the "German question forms the "centre of all deliberations". The attempts to solve this problem will show whether "Europe, and also we, our State, must prepare for more difficult and dangerous times or can hope for a further pacification". Benes himself declared that he does **not believe** that any great success will be achieved in this direction; it is a question of assuring at least a partial success. From all this it is not difficult to see how attempts are being made in Geneva, under the cloak of "disarmament", to enable the imperialists to attack the Soviet Union first before flying at each other's throats.

Referring to the question of the Danube Federation, Benes declared that he fully agreed with the French proposal. The fears of Germany and Italy are not justified. Czechoslovakia would not undertake anything unless all the great Powers, including Germany and Italy, agreed to this proposal, and only then under condition that it is a question of a "completely non-political", purely "economic" affair, not even a customs union, Benes declared that there is opposition also in Czechoslovakia to this proposal, and sought to pacify the agrarians by saying that their interests could be preserved by other means, for example, by a grain monopoly, thereby betraying however that the alleged economic reasons are only a swindle and a pretext. He also stated that **France is prepared to render generous financial aid to the new bloc**; in plain language to buy it. Thus Czechoslovakia is prepared to carry out this plan of a European concentration under French leadership against the Soviet Union and for the maintenance of the peace treaties right up to the last, regardless of sentimental fears as to the restoration of the old Austria-Hungary.

This speech has great importance outside of Czechoslovakia. It not only shows how actively Czechoslovakia is taking part in the French policy of concentrating all forces against the Soviet Union and at the same time preserving the special imperialist interests of France; it also throws a bright light on the whole world situation and at the same time, by its omissions, reveals how immediately threatening is the danger of imperialist world war against the Soviet Union.

Czech I. R. A. and W. I. R. Sections Suppressed.

Prague, 23rd March 1932.

To-day the Czechoslovakian government issued decrees for the suppression of the Czechish sections of the International Red Aid and of the International Workers Relief. Searches and the confiscation of material are in progress. A number of arrests have been made.

The reason given for the suppression of the Red Aid organisation is that it allegedly afforded assistance to persons sought for by the police in Czechoslovakia on political charges thereby enabling them to escape the ends of justice.

The suppression of the Czechish section of the W.I.R. is undoubtedly nothing more than an act of revenge for the exposure of the frightful situation prevailing in **Carpathian-Ukraine** where masses of the population are literally on the verge of starvation. Until the Czechish W.I.R. took up the matter conditions existing there were deliberately suppressed by the Czechoslovakian newspapers. The Czech W.I.R. sent a delegation of writers into the district, including the German author **Renn** and an English journalist named **Hamilton**. The publication of the report of this delegation created a sensation. The suppression of the W.I.R. is now the answer of the government which cannot or will not assist but is determined that the truth shall not be known.

The Blood Bath in Detroit.

By L. J. Brill (New York).

Four dead and fifty wounded—is the latest report from the battlefield of the unemployed struggle in the United States. This time it is the idol of Europe, **Henry Ford**, who is the murderer. To his reputation for "short" hours, "high" wages, and merciless speed-up, he has added a new item—machine-guns for his ex-slaves. For the 44 million of profits his workers made for him last year he offers steel instead of bread.

Five thousand discharged Ford workers, hungry, homeless, frozen by the icy wind and blizzard, marched to Ford's unemployment office on March 7 to demand work or relief. They were met by the Dearborn (Ford's town just outside of Detroit) police, private and "public", uniformed and non-uniformed as well as the Detroit police, and state troopers armed with clubs, tear gas, shot guns and machine guns. The N. Y. Times admits that the workers, 6-mile march was "orderly from the start". At the Dearborn city limits they were told to keep away, and when they kept on marching, were attacked by 60 police with tear gas bombs. The high wind dissipated the fumes, and the workers answered with stones and frozen mud. Then they marched on, to be met by high-pressure streams from fire hose, which froze as it struck.

The workers went on, reached the employment office and made their request for a hearing for their committee. In answer they were fired on and four workers fatally wounded. Among them were **Joe York**, 23 years old, district organiser of the Y.C.L. and member of its National Executive Committee, **Joe Debruske**, Daily Worker newsboy, **George Russell**, a 16-year old boy, and **Coleman Leny**, 20, a laid-off Ford worker. The first shot was fired by Bennet, chief Ford detective and former pugilist, who tried to disperse the workers by driving his car through their ranks. Bennet fired all chambers of his pistol at the workers. This started the fight which raged for an hour and a half. It was finally ended with the arrival and attack of scores of Detroit police and detectives and state troopers, who used machine guns and every other type of arms.

The demands for which the workers had marched were to have been presented by a committee of 9 of the Unemployed Council. They included the following: immediate payment of half wages to all discharged Ford workers, a 7-hour day without reduction in pay, slowing down the deadly speedup, two, 15-minute rest periods, no discrimination against Negroes, immediate payment of a lump sum of \$50 to each unemployed Ford worker, abolition of spies, no foreclosures or evictions, the right to organise, etc.

After the murders the state and city authorities carried on a reign of terror to cover up their massacre, placing all responsibility upon the victims. Raids were made and scores arrested, many of them held for deportation and framed up on charges of riot and murder. The prosecutor sought an immediate grand jury investigation, in order to frame up **William Z. Foster**, Communist leader, who had spoken a day previously at a mass meeting of unemployed, Schmies, Reynolds and other local Communist leaders. Those arrested on charges of murder, riot, and criminal syndicalism were tortured by the "liberal" Mayor Murphy, elected with the support of the A.F. of L. and the S.P.

When the mass funeral was held (the police had at first prohibited it) 70,000 workers marched in the greatest funeral demonstration ever held in Detroit. Twenty-five thousand demonstrated before the Workers Hall, where the bodies had lain. Delegations marched from a dozen other automobile cities. From house tops, windows, and sidewalks thousands of workers watched, the marchers and booing the police. At the cemetery, eight miles away, 20,000 gathered.

Throughout the country demonstrations of protest were held, condemning the murders and demanding the smashing of the terror. In **Chicago** 5,000 demonstrated before the Japanese consulate against Japanese imperialism and the Ford massacre. Here again the police brutally shot into the crowd, and one worker and a number of police were shot.

The answer of the American bourgeoisie—bullets, not bread—was given to the Detroit auto workers, just as to the Chicago workers, the Kentucky miners, Camp Hill Negro croppers, etc. The workers in turn are answering the bosses by organisation, by strengthening their ranks: five hundred joined the C.P. in Detroit in the 3 days ending March 15, and

another 500 the Y.C.L., while at the funeral 5,000 Daily Workers were sold. The nation-wide demonstrations in the streets and in workers' organisations, the building of the Communist movement, of the auto workers union and the Unemployed Councils, a deeper struggle against the bosses' terror and starvation programme, the intensification of the fight to end capitalist oppression—these will be the result of Ford's "bloody Monday".

THE WHITE TERROR

The Scottsboro Boys Shall Not be Murdered!

To the toilers of all countries!

The American imperialists have all preparations made for a new outrage against the working class. The burning to death by electrocution, of the eight Negro boys at Scottsboro remains fixed for April 6th. (Since postponed to May 13. Ed.)

The American bourgeoisie, faced on the one hand with the greatest economic crisis in its history and on the other hand with the increasing revolutionary militancy of the white and Negro toilers, is desperately trying to smash their united front in their common struggle against unemployment, wage cuts, rationalisation, bourgeois class justice and white terror. The chief victims are the brutally oppressed and exploited Negro toiling masses. This is why a new wave of lynchings is sweeping over the United States.

This terror is not enough to satisfy the Negro-hating landlords and cotton-mill barons of the South. They are more than ever determined to burn to death these eight Negro boys, the youngest of whom is only 13 years old and the oldest, only 20 years. The death sentence still hangs over these boys, the sons of workers and tenant-farmers, while the representatives of the bourgeoisie—the State Supreme Court—"consider" the appeal.

The object of this execution, as of the rising class terror all over the United States, is to strike fear into the hearts of the toiling masses, both white and black; to crush out their organised protest against the active participation of American capitalism in the imperialist war already started in the Far East and in the preparations for military intervention against the Soviet Union.

These continued outrages against the toiling masses and the Negroes in the United States have resulted in a world-wide wave of indignant protests and burning condemnation among the workers of American itself and those of every other country. In the face of the open hostility and attacks of the ultra-reactionary American Federation of Labor, the social-fascists, the Negro reformist National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Garvey) which are objectively supporting this frameup, the workers of the whole world have already raised their protest under the leadership of the International Red Aid, the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers and other revolutionary organisations.

The Workers cannot put trust in the "justice" of the bourgeois courts. We have not forgotten the Mooney-Billings case, the Sacco-Vanzetti execution, the Harlan frame-ups! It is only the mass protest actions of the working class throughout the world that can restrain the labour hating capitalists and landlords of the state of Alabama from carrying out their murder programme.

Mass Action and International Solidarity Must Save Them!
Toilers in all countries!

Demand the immediate, unconditional release of the Scottsboro Negro boys, including the boy sentenced to life imprisonment!

Down with the lynching of Negro workers in America!

For the united front of the Negro and white workers of the United States against the class terror of the bourgeoisie and their social-fascist and national-reformist agents! Long live the international solidarity of the toilers of all races and nationalities!

(Signed): Executive Committee of International Red Aid.
Executive of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.

The War

The Negotiations for the Carving Up of China.

By L. Hildebrandt (Berlin).

Truce in Shanghai? The negotiations in Shanghai form only a part of the attempt of the imperialist Powers, at the cost of China, to push the inner imperialist antagonisms into the background for the time being and to carry out intervention against the Soviet Union. The negotiations for an armistice show that it is a question of a conspiracy of the imperialist Powers against China, against the Chinese people, for the dismemberment of China. The Chinese troops remain in their present positions, while the Japanese troops occupy the positions held by them before 28th January, i. e. they remain in Shanghai and retain possession of a number of positions outside of the International Settlement; and a zone 20 kilometres broad round Shanghai will be placed under the control of the "neutral" States, i. e. of the imperialists. In addition, the Japanese imperialists demand the cessation of the boycott movement and its suppression by the Nanking government. These conditions mean an important step towards the **carving up of China**. The most important harbour town of China and of the Far East is to be placed wholly and entirely under the control of the imperialists.

The Kuomintang, by accepting these conditions, again expose themselves as agents of the imperialists before the working masses, who are more and more realising that the revolutionary fight, the revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism, the defence of the country against its dismemberment, the fight for national unity and independence against all imperialists, can be carried out only if the Kuomintang is overthrown.

The Kuomintang are already adopting measures in order to crush the anti-imperialist boycott movement by means of the most savage white terror. In friendly co-operation with the police of the International Settlement and of the French concession, the leaders of the organisations which have carried on the boycott in spite of its prohibition by the Nanking government, which gave a fitting reception in Shanghai to the League of Nations Commission, were arrested and delivered over to the hangmen of the Kuomintang government. It is maintained that they are Communists.

Every day brings a further worsening of the situation; writes the "Times", as the figures of the customs offices show. The imports to Shanghai in the three months from December to February amounted respectively to 70, 60, and 24 million tael; exports in these three months amounted to 16, 7 and 8 million tael. The foreign trade in Shanghai in the three months declined from December to February from 86 to 23 million tael.

"The Japanese action in the Shanghai district is having a fatal effect upon the local economic life. The result is a complete stoppage in the turnover of goods", writes the Kölnische Zeitung of March 22nd.

Thus imperialist war does not bring work and bread, but increased unemployment and intensified crisis.

This circumstance also partly explains why the imperialists and their agents are doing everything in order to crush the revolutionary movement in China. The Japanese Prime Minister **Inukai** declared, that Communism constitutes the chief danger in China. And **Chiang Kai Shek** and **Wan Chin Wei** agree with him and are conducting the fourth offensive against the Soviet districts.

At the same time the Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshisava declares in Parliament that Japan's interests in Shanghai and China are the same as the other imperialist Powers. "In Manchuria and Mongolia, however, Japan has special rights and interests." And the real head of the Japanese government, the chairman of the officers' League, the War Minister **Araki** is demanding **fresh** war credits in order to **send further troops** to Manchuria.

"In Manchuria", declares the representative of the Officers' League, "the situation is even more strained than during the Russo-Japanese war in 1905."

It is quite a matter of course that after this declaration of the War Minister the Japanese socialists voted for the new war credits for sending fresh troops to Manchuria. It

also goes without saying that the Japanese socialists stand for "equal rights" of the Japanese and Chinese citizens in Manchuria.

Araki's comparison between the present situation and the Russo-Japanese war becomes still more significant if we place it alongside the speech of Austin Chamberlain. According to the "Times" report of March 23rd, Sir Austin Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons

"Recalled our friendship for and our early alliance with Japan. She valued that alliance with us not merely for any military assistance that we might give but because it was an outward and visible sign of our recognition of her position in the world and our acceptance of her as one of the great Powers of the time. We had had every reason to remember with pride and satisfaction our association with that island race . . ."

And the British Foreign Secretary, **Sir John Simon**, declared in the House of Commons on March 22nd, in reply to questions by George Lansbury regarding the "new State" of "independent" Manchuria:

"At the same time there is no law, and there is no common sense, in saying that in no conceivable circumstance can there ever be a subdivision of an enormous area like China, for, as a matter of fact, the rising up in this province or that of an Administration claiming to have a certain amount of independence is by this time a commonplace in Chinese matters, and I have never heard the matter challenged before."

What Chamberlain says is the programme of the restoration of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and what Simon says is the programme of recognition of "independent" Manchuria, the programme of the partition of China. It is not surprising that **Mr. Lees Smith**, who was President of the Board of Education under the Labour Government, applauds the Japanese robber campaign, and that **Mr. Lansbury** declares himself satisfied with **Sir John Simon's** declaration. All parties of British imperialism are united on this fundamental question of British robber-policy. It is a question of the partition of China, of intervention against the Soviet Union.

It is not due to chance that simultaneously with the publication of the statement on the cessation of hostilities in Shanghai the Japanese intentions to set up a number of independent States in North China à la Manchuria were confirmed. It is no secret that the Japanese imperialists intend, to form a puppet government in North-West, with the help of General Yen Shi San, and to set up a similar puppet government in Shantung with the help of the Chinese general Han Fu-Tzu and to extend their influence to Peking and Tientsin.

In the light of these facts the reply of the Japanese government to the questions of the Soviet government regarding the character of the new State in Manchuria, regarding the concentration of Japanese troops near the Soviet frontier, the support afforded the white guardist bands in Manchuria is simply a **new provocation**. Japanese imperialism, apparently, still needs a certain time in order to complete its war preparations, and therefore it attempts to deny obvious facts.

The ally of Japanese imperialism, the "gendarme of Europe", France, is still rapidly carrying on its preparations for intervention. The negotiations on the Danube Federation plan are in full swing. The "Times" lets the cat out of the bag when it explains the meaning and content of the Franco-Italian and Franco-German negotiations:

"There exist between France and Italy several points of friction which have resisted all attempts to remove them until now. There is the naval question, with the Italian claim for parity with France. There are colonial questions, notably those of the boundaries of Lybia, the status of Italians in Tunisia, and the Italian desire for colonial expansion. There is the activity of Italian anti-fascist organisations in France, and there are the unemployed Italian

workmen whom France would like to repatriate. The solution of these problems in any imaginable sense would be a valuable gain both to France and to Italy, and their solution in a manner favourable to Italy, accompanied by French concessions, would surely be worth as much materially, and twice as much morally, to the fascist government as the recognition of its right to have a privileged voice in commercial agreements between Austria and Hungary."

And with regard to the Franco-German relations the "Times" of March 23rd declares:

"The main obstacles to European reconstruction ever since the war have been the mutual distrust and latent hostility between France and Germany; and the main obstacles to the removal of that feeling have been certain points in the peace treaties, the enforced disproportion between French and German armaments, and the frequent haggling over reparation payments. If France offers to Germany, in return for a benevolent neutrality towards the Danube scheme, substantial relief in the matter of reparations and a less unbending attitude on armaments, would it not be worth Germany's while to think twice before insisting on a privileged position in Central Europe?"

The meaning of negotiations over the Daube bloc is that French imperialism is striving to reconstruct and strengthen the anti-Soviet bloc for the purpose of carrying out intervention. And only in this connection is it possible to understand the political meaning of the London Conference of the four Powers. There still exist far-reaching imperialist antagonisms regarding this Conference. It is clear that Tardieu is doing everything to set up a Franco-British united front before the commencement of the Conference in order thereby to exert strong pressure on Germany and partly also on Italy. Germany's invitation, however, means an attempt to commit Germany to the Danube Federation and in this way to include her in the anti-Soviet front.

The rapidly developing conspiracy of the imperialists against the Soviet Union can only be thwarted by the powerful blows of the revolutionary mass struggle.

The "Independent" Manchurian State—a Second Edition of the "Korean Empire".

By Tang-Shin-she (Tientsin).

Two years after the Sino-Japanese war in 1894, Japan succeeded in conquering Korea, then a colony of China, and converting it into a "free independent Empire". After the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese, with the full agreement of Great Britain and the silent approval of the United States, annexed Korea. The Japanese had in mind to use Korea not only as a basis of operations against China, but also as a basis against Tsarist Russia and for their East Asian policy. To-day, scarcely six months after the military occupation of Manchuria, the Japanese raise Manchuria to an "independent State", in order, in agreement with the League of Nations Powers, to subjugate the whole of Manchuria and from there to commence with the carving up of China by the imperialists and to undertake a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

If one follows the Manchurian press in Tientsin, or anywhere else outside of Manchuria, whether it be issued by the Japanese, the Chinese or Russian white guardists, one can really gather the impression that the population is in favour of an autonomous State. There is to be found an abundance of petitions or resolutions expressing the desire for the foundation of an independent State. One can even read of ceremonies at which the "population" have submitted one petition after another to the ex-emperor Pu-Yi in order to induce him to take over the government of the new State.

But what are the actual facts? Let us quote a passage from a letter from the correspondent of the "Tientsin I Se Pao" ("Social Welfare" organ of the Belgian and American Catholics):

"... The Japanese Commander in Mukden has, on the one hand, instructed the Government Committee to make immediate preparations for the founding of the new State; on the other hand, he has ordered that the Autonomy instruction office set up by the Japanese themselves for

the North East, shall prepare placards and slogans propagating the new State. The bureaus in the neighbouring towns are instructed to convene meetings and conferences in order to create feeling in favour of the new State. The merchants are compelled to take part in such meetings and to sign resolutions and manifestoes. An acquaintance in Yunkov writes me that the Japanese convened a meeting there on 22nd February and compelled the merchants each to send two or more representatives. At the Conference Japanese dressed up as Chinese took charge of the meeting and distributed leaflets. Pupils from the schools established by the Japanese sang songs in praise of the new State. A gigantic propaganda is being carried on everywhere, especially in Mukden...

Whether the new State takes the form of a Republic or a monarchy it is certain that the ex-emperor Pu-Yi will be the chief puppet of the Japanese. The national flag of the new State is to be coloured red, gold, blue, white, black and green, as a sign of the unity of the Chinese. Manchurians, Mongolians, Koreans, Mohammedans and Russian white guardists. That is the Japanese policy of the 'open door.' (February 27.)

This quotation from an imperialist newspaper is a striking refutation of the declarations of the Japanese government.

The "Tientsin Ta Kung Pao" published the following report from Tsitsihar, the capital of Hailungkiang:

"The Japanese made use of the occasion of the arrival of General Ma Djen San on February 23rd in order to stage a great demonstration for the founding of the new State. A parade of Japanese cavalry, infantry and artillery took place in Lungsa Park. Leaflets were scattered from aeroplanes. The Japanese hired 48 Chinese for a dollar a day, rigged each of them out in a dress bearing every colour of the new flag, a placard with the inscription: 'For the new State!' and a paper cap with the inscription: 'Welcome to the new President of the province, General Ma!' Behind these people marched a band, which was followed by the Japanese from all official offices and organisations of the State. This kind of welcome was nothing else but a ridiculing of the national traitor Ma."

General Ma is a conscious provocateur on behalf of Japan; he conducted war against Japan according to orders so as to furnish them with a pretext for advancing into Northern Manchuria. Of course, he is working for the establishment of a new "autonomous" State as desired by the Japanese.

The Japanese have succeeded by means of money and bayonets in winning other vacillating landowners and militarists as instruments for their purposes. Thus General Tsang, President of the province of Fengtien in Chang-Hsue-ling's time, after being held under arrest by the Japanese for some months, became an active propagandist for the new State. General Gang, who had expressed himself emphatically against the "autonomous" State and was arrested by the Japanese, will now have an important function in the new government...

Parallel with their military preparations for their advance to Peiping and Tientsin, the Japanese already ordered their own lackeys, followers of the Tuan Skhe Sui group and the former governor of Shantung, Chang Chung Chang, to come from Dairen to Tientsin and Peiping in order to consolidate their power in North China.

The national revolutionary war of the toiling masses of China under the leadership of the proletariat against the attack of the Japanese in Shanghai and in Manchuria is still going on. The Chinese bourgeoisie, the big merchants and the landowners, have openly gone over to the side of the imperialists in order to secure their booty, to break the national-revolutionary war of the toilers and to crush the Soviet revolution.

Ruegg and his Wife again in Nanking.

Shanghai, 23rd March 1932.

The Pacific Trade Union Secretary Paul Ruegg and his wife who were arrested about 9 months ago on trumped up charges, have now again been transported to Nanking. It is expected that they will be secretly tried during the next few days. It is necessary to intensify the protest campaign immediately.

Japan Prepares for Attack on Soviet Union

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The preparations for war against the Soviet Union by Japanese imperialism and the Western powers has been underestimated for some time past by a number of Communist Parties in the press and in their organisational and agitational activity. For a while some of them stressed as the main danger war between the U.S. and Japan. The latest developments—the appearance of the Japanese fleet off Vladivostok, its preparation of airbases near the Siberian border, and the massing of scores of thousands of troops in North Manchuria and Korea, the preparations of Chiang Kai-shek to participate in the attack on the U.S.S.R. in Manchuria, and the intensive preparations on the Western frontier—make clear beyond any further doubt what faces us. As an example of this incorrect policy we may cite the fact that a short time ago, the **Western Worker** (a new paper published by the C.P.U.S.A. on the Pacific Coast) ran big headlines screaming about the danger of a Japanese-American war. While this is always a possibility, it is not today in the forefront, as is an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union.

The American bourgeois press and government now openly admit Japanese preparations on all fronts for war on the Workers' Fatherland. Thus the U.S. Navy Department reported to the State Department that part of the Japanese fleet had left Japan a day or two after Stimson's letter to Borah, headed "for an unknown destination", did not go to Shanghai, and soon appeared off Vladivostok. In New York the **Times** and most other papers suppressed this news when it was finally given out, only the **Herald Tribune** printing it, and with a deliberate effort to minimise its significance. The **Baltimore Sun**, which is liberal and somewhat sympathetic to the Soviet Union in some respects, gave a clearer picture of this event. It wrote that the Japanese fleet "is directly off Vladivostok and Eastern Siberia . . . The fact that the fleet is within striking distance of Soviet territory has been kept secret in Japan and is not generally known here (Washington) but has been confirmed by the Navy Department."

At the same time that these naval preparations of Japan have been taking place, its army in North Manchuria has been playing "hide and seek" with its Chinese tools toward the Soviet borders. General **Ting Chao** is now playing some of General Ma's tricks, running away along the Chinese Eastern Railway and "enticing" the Japanese troops after him. The Japanese forgot that on Feb. 27 they had admitted that Ting had openly come over to them. However, they blamed it on "insurgent generals" from Ting's army, who flitted from town to town, always evacuating just before the Japanese got there to find the town quiet. Thus the latter went from Harbin to Imienpo, to Hailan, to Dinguta (150 miles from Pogradichnaya, on the Soviet border at the eastern terminus of the Chinese Eastern Railway). At Ninguta the Japanese built two airfields. At the other end of the railroad General **Su Ping-wen**, formerly of Ting's army and now of Ma's, "revolted" against the latter and seized Lailar and Manchuli (the latter on the Soviet border). The Associated Press admitted in a Tokyo dispatch that "Su recently pledged his allegiance to General Ma's government at Tsitsihar." (N. Y. Times, Mar. 5.)

As regards the Japanese preparations for an attack on Siberia, the **Herald Tribune** Tokyo correspondent gave away the game:

"The (Japanese) Foreign Office spokesman today said that if peace were reached at Shanghai the Japanese troops now in the Shanghai area might be sent to Manchuria as 'replacements'. In this connection it was recalled that Japanese forces were sent to Manchuria at various times last year as 'replacements', but that the troops they were intended to replace were not withdrawn." (Mar. 1.)

The American press also quotes the Japanese government to the effect that to a certain extent the attack on China was also part of a manoeuvre to get its troops in position for a campaign against the U.S.S.R. Thus the N.Y. Times stated:

"Well-informed foreign diplomatic circles take at its face value the recent Japanese admission that the Manchurian move was not aimed against China but was

rather the first step in a 'defensive expansion' against the dreaded Russo-Japanese conflict." (Feb. 23.)

Two weeks later the Associated Press sent a similar dispatch from Tokyo, and the next day a special writer (R. Gilbert) in the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** admitted that the Japanese troops appeared "to be moving toward Pogradichnaya . . . where they will be within one mile of the territories of the Soviet and . . . within one mile of a serious clash if the 'momentum' which General Honjo held accountable for the taking of Tsitsihar carries them over the frontier" (Mar. 7). Explanations are already being made, in the delightfully artless manner of Japanese imperialist diplomacy, and accepted by the American press, of an invasion of Soviet Siberia.

An editorial in the same paper on March 2 is extremely significant in regard to the propaganda Japanese consuls in the U.S.S.R. are spreading about Soviet mobilisation for war. It states that these reports on Soviet suspicions of a Japanese invasion and preparations for it are inexplicable "unless it is to prepare the Japanese people for some dramatic happening". It considers the Japanese publication of such reports due to ulterior motives, the idea of a Soviet attack upon Japan or Korea being "preposterous", but the opposite situation, a Japanese attack on the U.S.S.R., being "not quite so preposterous" (March. 2). Part of the American press is a bit worried by the united front of Japan, France, and Britain, and is therefore at times a bit more fair toward the Soviet Union than before the danger of war became so acute. Thus the **N. Y. Post** says editorially that the U.S.S.R. "has observed a careful policy of non-interference and strict neutrality" ever since Japan started its invasion of Manchuria. Previously this neutrality was characterised as due to an agreement with Japan, but now that Japan's preparations for an attack and the Soviet need for defensive measures are so obvious, the tune has changed, and the U.S.S.R. is characterised as being too fearful and suspicious.

The American press reported on February 24 that of the 17 divisions, of the Japanese army, peace strength, 5 divisions (peace strength of each about 15,000 men, though most of them are probably at war-time strength about 20,000) were in Manchuria, 3 in Korea (equally close to the Soviet border), 1 each in Formosa and at Tsientsin, 2 in Shanghai (with 2 more sent there later), and 5 in Japan (N.Y. Times). This would indicate that there were well over 150,000 Japanese troops in Manchuria and Korea, and probably 75,000 more in Shanghai, with most of the latter admittedly to be sent later to North Manchuria.

The press of March 13 reported that the Japanese were withdrawing two divisions from Shanghai, leaving two there together with naval forces, (a total of 45,000 men). Where these two divisions were being sent was not disclosed in most papers. The **N. Y. Herald Tribune** of Mar. 15 said they were being sent home. But three days earlier Washington reports, ostensibly from the State Dept., had stated that 50 transports were being sent to Shanghai to remove these troops "to North China or Manchuria". (N. Y. Times.)

The American State Department was reported to be much concerned about the "cloaked movements" of the Japanese in Manchuria and in the Sea of Japan. The factors contributing to this concern were stated to be "the massing on the Asiatic mainland of divisions classified as brigades (Our emphasis—A.G.B.), for an obscure reason which cannot be reassuring", and "what one European Government informed its ambassador (in Washington) is 'heavy fresh troop movements into Manchuria'". (Mar. 11.) But despite the "worry" and "concern" of Washington (and again there is talk in the press of the possibility of recognition of the U.S.S.R.) this is probably a smokescreen to delude the world into believing that the U.S. is opposed to a Japanese attack upon the Soviet Union. The very opposite has been its endeavour for years, especially since the Japanese set foot in Shanghai. Evidence of it may be seen in the recurrence of boycott attempts against Soviet trade (together with continued hidden attempts to hinder such shipments), by the great shipments of war materials to Japan, and by the bloody suppression of demonstrations of the workers against Japanese imperialism and its consulates in the U.S.

The Japanese are having their puppet ruler in Manchuria attempt to raise an army of 100,000, which they will train and equip. The **White Guards**, who so enthusiastically greeted the advent of the Japanese into Harbin and so threateningly demonstrated before the buildings of the Chinese Eastern

Railway, are organising an army division, under the pretext of registering the unemployed. If they succeed they are said to plan to increase it to a corps. The cavalry detachment sent by the Japanese to greet this scum is their real answer to Karakhan's protests.

Such are some of the evidences of the nearness of the imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. That the revolutionary workers throughout the world are awakening to this menace may be seen from their increasing demonstrations against the shipment of munitions and before Japanese consulates. In the U.S. these activities have been somewhat slow in getting under way, but in March a number of protest demonstrations were held before consulates etc. It is necessary to increase these actions still further.

The Unemployed and the Developing War Situation.

By R. Bishop (London).

In the fight of the British workers against the war plots of the capitalist class particular attention is being paid to the Army of 2½ million unemployed. By reason of the Means Test, the Anomalies Act etc, so many workless men have been driven desperate that for the first time since the last war, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War was able to tell Parliament, in introducing the Army Estimates, that the number of recruits last year had been so satisfactory that it had been found possible to pick and choose by raising the minimum requirements as to height, physique etc.

Under the Means Test, up to the end of February, 275,537 unemployed men and women had been deprived of all benefit. In addition 665,008 more have had their benefit reduced to a few shillings per week. Altogether 1,884,074 unemployed workers have had to submit to the Means Test inquisition, and increasing numbers will have to do so in the future. In addition to the Means Test approximately a quarter of a million workers have been deprived of benefit under the Anomalies Act, in the main these have been married women and casual and part-time workers.

The whole theory behind these enactments of the State is that benefit shall be paid to no one if it can be found that person has any relatives, however poverty stricken they may be, who can contribute to his upkeep. It is natural that under these circumstances the Army Recruiting Sergeant should have met with more success than he has done in previous years. Hunger once again proves itself the prime recruiting sergeant for the armies of capitalism.

Neither is it surprising that particularly among the younger unemployed, there should be a feeling that "war means work", and that anyhow it will break the deadly monotony of enforced idleness.

At all meetings and in the columns of the "Daily Worker", emphasis has been placed upon explaining what war really means to the workers, explaining the difference between the last war, coming at the end of a capitalist boom and the present war coming in the midst of deepening decline. There is a growing realisation that in order to prepare for this war the capitalists are having to rob the workers still more. It is widely appreciated by the workless that whilst their standard "dole" is cut from 17- to 15/3. and whilst hundreds of thousands are being deprived even of this, whilst social services (feeding of school children, maternity centres, education etc) are being cut to the bone, while wages are being drastically cut (in which matter the State gave a lead to all employers), whilst hours of work are being increased, and whilst prices are rising through tariffs, and yet more unemployed appearing on the streets—all because "the country must economise"—the expenditure on armaments is not decreased by one penny piece.

Whilst the Estimates for the Navy and the Air Force have decreased, the only reductions have been in the pay of the men in the forces, in the cost of their food and their clothing. Actually on the manufacture of armaments the amount to be expended in the coming year is placed at a higher figure than ever before. Even so the Ministers in charge of the fighting services have all made it plain that they are not satisfied and will demand yet more money for war purposes.

More and more the workers, employed and unemployed, realise that they are being bled white to pay for war. They see that while this process is going on, whilst more and more of their number are being driven down to a starvation level, a small number of capitalists, despite the crisis, are feathering

their nests as never before. The Inland Revenue returns for the past year show that there are 540 millionaires in Britain, an increase of 21 on the previous year. Each of these people is drawing an income of at least £50,000 per annum, many of them getting twice as much. In these circumstances it is obvious that the fight of the unemployed against the Means Test, for the restoration of the "dole" cuts, against the Anomalies Act, and for the restitution of those social services which have been cut down, is very definitely part of the struggle against Imperialist war.

It is a good sign that the unemployed are putting up a more strenuous resistance than at any previous time. When the Labour Government fell great demonstrations took place all over the country against the National Government and its cuts and its "economies". When the General Election came there was a falling off in mass activity, but from the beginning of 1932 there has been a tremendous revival and, what is more, the employed, feeling the full brunt of the Means Test and the capitalist offensive themselves, are throwing themselves more and more into the struggle of the workless. On February 23, the National Day of Struggle against Unemployment, there were greater demonstrations against the Means Test than had ever been witnessed before. In Bristol 50,000 workers took the streets and such was their spirit—repulsed police attack after attack. In Manchester, in Liverpool, in London, in Glasgow and in innumerable smaller places the same thing was to be seen—great masses of workers on the streets putting forward their clear-cut demands.

It is significant too that the activities of the Reformists to sidetrack this movement have utterly failed. Their attempt (through the Trade Union Congress and the I.L.P.) to set up a scab national unemployed organisation has collapsed. When the Daily Herald came out with a statement that the Government were going to restore the cuts later in the year, the workers refused to believe them and to stop their activities. Their scepticism has been justified, the Minister having been compelled since to admit that the Government are contemplating no such step.

On the other hand the workless find themselves menaced with fresh attacks, when the Royal Commission on Unemployment issues its final report. Next month the Government introduces its Budget wherein relief will be given to the capitalists in various ways, such as income tax reductions etc., but where all the workers can expect is an intensification of the pressure upon them.

The **National Unemployed Workers Movement**, the revolutionary organisation of the workless, and the **Communist Party** are preparing for a tremendous campaign of a mass character against the Budget and against the War preparations of which the Budget will be an integral part.

The question of war is no separate question from the daily class-struggle of the unemployed. It is not a fight of the future, but a fight that is here intimately linked up with the struggle against the economic offensive of the Imperialists at home.

More and more the workless are realising that the success attained in the struggle against war will be the measure of success in the struggle for the attainment of their own demands. And realising this the "war means work" theory is being overcome and the workless lined up in the struggle of the whole working class against the Imperialist war-makers.

Preparations for an Attack on the Mongolian People's Republic.

By M. Teh.

Japan is preparing for the armed attack upon the Mongolian People's Republic. According to the plans of Japanese imperialism, the Manchurian and Mongolian "State" created with fire and sword, is to be shortly augmented by the addition of Outer Mongolia.

The presence of numerous armed forces of the Japanese army, as well as the increased formation and subsidizing of Russian white guards, princes and feudal lords of Mongolia itself which is taking place under the immediate supervision of the Japanese commanding staff on the Eastern frontiers of the Mongolian People's Republic, leave no doubt that the attack upon Mongolia is a matter, if not of a few days at any rate of a few weeks.

In the ten years of its existence the Mongolian People's

Republic has proved its capacity to defend its national independence and its ability to fight against imperialism.

In the last few years in particular the Mongolian People's Republic has set itself the task of transforming its economic life on the basis of Lenin's ideas.

Revolutionary Mongolia has achieved great successes in this direction. We will cite only a few figures characterising the development of the M.P.R. in the last two to three years.

Increase of flocks and herds: taking 100 to represent the year 1929, in 1931 cattle and beasts of burden had increased as follows, camels—105.4, large horned cattle—106.6, sheep—115.5, goats—132.2.

The national income amounted in 1926 to 86 million tuchriks*), in 1931 to 108 million tuchriks. The average increase of the national income in five years amounted to 11 per cent.

The national budget amounted in 1926 to 21,504,000 tuchriks, in 1931 to 28,297,000 tuchriks and in 1932 has been fixed at 32,628,000 tuchriks.

Let the imperialists point to a single colonial country which under their "civilising" influence has developed so rapidly as independent revolutionary Mongolia.

But how could this impoverished country, with a vast territory exceeding the combined area of Germany and France, with a nomad population numbering hardly 800,000, which groaned under the double yoke of imperialism and its own feudal lords, achieve such a rapid successful development and such a growth of its economy.

This was achieved only by means of a revolutionary break with the old obsolete feudal-theocratic system, and by thoroughly transforming economic relations after first having driven the imperialists out of the country.

The property of the big feudal lords was confiscated, the herds of cattle belonging to the monasteries was for the greater part handed over to the agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants. The number of Lamas (Buddhist priests) has declined greatly. In the last two years alone the number of Lamas who have left the monasteries and taken up productive work amounts to 30,000.

The co-operatives and the State trade have finally ousted the foreign capitalist commercial firms and successfully control retail trade, having in their hands at least 70 per cent of the retail trade turnover. The tremendously rapid growth of collective farms in the Soviet Union aroused the desire among the masses of the Arats to set up collective farms in the Mongolian People's Republic. 33 to 34 per cent. of all farms are now united in collective farms. These collective farms have now almost exactly as many cattle as the feudal lords and monasteries possessed, i. e. about 19 per cent. of the cattle in the whole country. This of course has had the effect of raising the standard of living of the poorest strata of the Arats.

The successes of the Mongolian People's Republic necessarily have a revolutionising effect on the peoples and tribes inhabiting the districts bordering on revolutionary Mongolia.

This fact alone would suffice to explain why Japan is preparing for an attack upon the Mongolian People's Republic. But in fact the reasons which are causing Japan to embark on this Mongolian adventure are manifold. In regard to the Mongolian People's Republic, the Japanese imperialists can hardly venture to trot out their usual pretext of the necessity "protecting Japanese settlers", as at present there is not a single Japanese settler in the M.P.R.

In 1927, the Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka, in his Memorandum, openly divulged what during the last ten years has been the fundamental foreign policy of Japanese imperialism. The memorandum contained the main theses which are at present elaborated in the whole of the Japanese and pro-Japanese press. These main ideas are as follows:

"In order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia." (Page 48.)

"In order to achieve this plan, 1 million Yen must be assigned from the secret funds of the War Ministry and 400 retired officers must be sent to Inner and Outer Mongolia..." (Page 50.)

One can say with certainty that the attack on the Mongolian People's Republic will cost Japan much more than one million Yen and 400 reserve officers. The support which

*) Tuchrik is the Mongolian monetary unit and equals to half an American dollar.

the Japanese think they possess in the shape of the princes has long since been destroyed. The princes have long ago been overthrown and suppressed. The Mongolian People's government and the National Revolutionary Party are not the Kuomintang; they will fight for every inch of land.

The Mongolian herdsmen, collective peasants and individual peasants will rise like one man to defend the revolutionary achievements against Japanese imperialism.

The fight to repel the attack on the M.P.R. must occupy a prominent place in the common fight against imperialism and imperialist war, in the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union, in the fight for the maintenance and consolidation of Soviet China, against the plundering of the Chinese people by the Japanese and the rest of the imperialists.

WAR AND SOCIAL FASCISM

New Documents of the International of the Warmakers.

By M. Louis (Paris).

In the "Socialistisches Westnik" the Party of the Russian Mensheviki (if one can describe as a party the small group of counter-revolutionary emigrants who have long since been thrown on to the rubbish heap of history by the proletariat of the Soviet Union) at last deal with the question of intervention. One can see from this article by Mr. Dan what role the Mensheviki, what role the II. International will play in the approaching intervention and the preparation, organisation and carrying out of the intervention.

Mr. Dan in no way denies the danger of a new world war, the danger of intervention. On the contrary, he emphasises that intervention against the Soviet Union, and with it the new world war, constitutes a direct, immediate danger.

"The threat of war has already lifted its head on the horizon, and in particular on the horizon of the Soviet Union. But it is not the Soviet horizon alone which is overcast with storm clouds."

Mr. Dan and with him also Mr. Abrahamovitch are, it is true, members of the Executive of the II. International. In the appeal issued by the II. International on 26th February last, no mention whatever is made of the danger of intervention threatening the Soviet Union. The "Vorwärts" wrote not long ago that the negotiations on the conclusion of Pacts of non-aggression between the Soviet Union and its neighbours prove that the alarm signals of the Communists are only a manoeuvre, that no intervention threatens the Soviet Union. The chairman of the II. International, M. Vandervelde, only recently expressed suspicion that there exists an agreement between the Soviet Union and Japan in regard to China and Manchuria. The Russian Menshevik Rosenfeld had the brazenness to declare in the central organ of the French socialists that the Soviet Union has betrayed China. The Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the organ of the Austro-Marxists, recently wrote that the capitalists have no intention of making war against the Soviet Union. Only a few days ago the "Vorwärts", the central organ of the social democracy of Germany, wrote that "Russia has capitulated to Japan". It is true that on the very next day the "Vorwärts" reported that the situation in Japan is very tense because the Soviet Union is concentrating troops! One might ask. How is it possible to lie in such a stupid and brazen manner? How could the Soviet Union capitulate and at the same time concentrate troops?

It is here, however, not a case of contradictions existing between Mr. Dan and the other gentlemen of the II. International. These contradictions are purely external. In reality it is merely a question of the division of roles.

Mr. Dan even admits the remarkable fact that "the work of negotiating treaties of non-aggression between the Soviet Union and the countries on its western frontiers, which was commenced so successfully became completely 'frozen' with the beginning of complications in the Far East". He even states that

"The reactionary section, or to be more correct, that section of the Russian emigrants who are in favour of the restoration, has an alliance with Japan and the defeat of the Soviet Union in its mind's eye, and, from its point of view, is taking the right line, for after the great

revolution the restoration can only be achieved in Russia with the aid of the bayonets of foreign Powers."

As we see, Mr. Dan is exceedingly considerate and objective towards this section of the Russian emigrants. And with the "objectivity" which is always so characteristic of the Mensheviki in their attitude to the open counter-revolution, Mr. Dan states, that this section of the Russian emigrants, from its point of view is "taking the right line".

What policy does Mr. Dan consider "the right line" for the Mensheviki?

"We are by no means defeatists, but neither are we patriots of the military stamp. We oppose the fight for peace to all gambles on war, as the only chance of safeguarding the Soviet State and its labouring population **from incredible sacrifices, from a certain defeat and from the danger of a counter-revolution; and that is perhaps the only method of saving the whole world from a new slaughter, the horrors of which would place everything which humanity has yet experienced in the shade. Down with war!**"

This does not mean that we should look on with indifference at the loss of 'one foot of soil' after another. **It means that we are of the opinion that this Soviet soil cannot be held by Soviet arms and that we see other methods which in the present period are alone capable of safeguarding the independence and security of the Soviet Union.**"

Mr. Dan thus informs the Japanese militarists that in his opinion Soviet soil cannot be held with Soviet arms. In the given situation and in any situation **such a statement is tantamount to an open and unashamed summons to the Japanese and all other imperialists to commence armed intervention.** If the Soviet soil cannot be held with Soviet arms, then the imperialists, "from their point of view" will only "be taking the right line" when they attack this Soviet soil. Mr. Dan forgets, however, that this Soviet soil was held for four years under incomparably more difficult conditions by the proletariat, by the working people of the Soviet Union, with the aid of the world proletariat. Since then the Soviet weapons have become sharper and the revolutionary proletariat has become stronger; the Soviet Union has become stronger and more powerful. Mr. Dan, in order to accelerate intervention, prophesies the defeat of Soviet arms in the event of intervention.

But it is not a question of the private prophecies of Mr. Dan. It is a case of the Menshevist advisers of the interventionists by predicting the "certain defeat" of the Soviet Union, **inciting to intervention.** And when Mr. Dan maintains that the Soviet Union has carried on and is carrying on a "two-faced unrevolutionary and moreover short-sighted policy of brute force", he again incites to intervention. In his article Mr. Dan does not show that Japan and the other imperialists in the Far East—and not only in the Far East—have carried on and are carrying on a policy of brute force. But the abolition of unequal treaties, the handing back of all concessions, the renunciation of extra-territoriality, support of the fight of the Chinese people against imperialism, the conversion of the Chinese-Eastern Railway into a joint undertaking of China and the Soviet Union—was **that** the policy of brute force on the part of the Soviet Union? Or was the policy of brute force expressed in the fact that in the year 1929 the Soviet Union, supported by the treaties concluded with China on the basis of complete equality, did not permit the bandits of the counter-revolutionary generals to hand over the railway line to the imperialists?

Mr. Dan surpasses himself in intervention incitement. He proposes the policy of **peace at any price.**

"**Peace at any price.** If all the signs do not deceive, this appears to be the policy to which Stalin intends to cling. **And we consider this policy not only to be not ignominious but the only reasonable and expedient one.** But it can be reasonable and expedient only if it does not consist solely in a retreat determined by the **military weakness of Russia, which would only whet the appetite of the Japanese imperialists still further and accumulate fresh explosive material which sooner or later would be bound to go off.**"

The policy of the Soviet Union is the policy of peace. But this cannot be the policy of peace **at any price,** because a policy of peace at any price would mean the abandonment of independence, of the existence of the Soviet Union. Mr. Dan however imputes this counter-revolutionary idiocy to the

Soviet Union, to the C.P.S.U., to Comrade **Stalin.** Mr. Dan calls for a policy of peace at any price in order to open the door for intervention. "We do not wish an inch of foreign territory, but we will not give up an inch of our territory" (Stalin). **Here are the limits of the Soviet Union's peace policy.**

Mr. Dan would like to proclaim for the proletariat of the Soviet Union the slogan: "Down with war." But when it is a question of revolutionary war, when it is a question of defence of the proletarian State, of the socialist fatherland, when it is a question of the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship, of the socialist fatherland of all workers, the slogan: "Down with war!" is the most counter-revolutionary slogan in world history.

Japanese armies are advancing in the direction of the Soviet frontiers. War preparations are going on at a feverish pace in Poland, Rumania and Finland. Tardieu is attempting to reorganise the anti-Soviet front in order to strengthen it. The white-guardist bosom friends of the Mensheviki in France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland and Bulgaria are openly arming for intervention.

In this situation Mr. Dan, in the name of the Russian Mensheviki, in the name of the II. International, performs the **greatest service** that can be rendered to intervention. The proletariat, all the working people of the Soviet Union, are prepared to defend the Soviet fatherland. The Mensheviki want to undermine the front of the proletarian defence of its fatherland. Just as the Hungarian social democrats in their time, by means of pacifist slogans, undermined the Red Army of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, just as a part of the Russian Mensheviki attempted with pacifist slogans to undermine the Red Army of the Soviet Union whilst at the same time the other part supported the white guardist generals, so Mr. Dan and his confederates wish with the slogan "Peace at any price!", with the slogan "Down with war!" to undermine the defensive front of the Soviet Union.

The world-historical crime which the II. International committed in 1914 is here repeated on an incomparably higher scale of development.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

New York Dressmakers' Strike.

By James Lerner (New York).

Early in February the dressmakers of New York were called out on strike. The industry in normal times employs about 40,000 workers. These workers have carried on some of the most militant strikes during the last 20 years. The revolutionary **Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union** appealed for a United Front of all workers in the industry. On the other side were the reactionary officials of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. These officials had carried on a series of what they call "harmony" strikes, which in reality were lock-outs engineered by both the officialdom and the Manufacturers' Association. The purpose was twofold: 1. to drive out the smaller bosses who were not members of the Association and, 2. to collect the large sums of initiation fees and dues from the workers in order to rehabilitate the bankrupt "union".

Now this could no more be done. The workers were wary and the United Front appeal of the revolutionary union was finding deep response. The reformist union played its last card, the renegade Lovestoneites. One of these had been made secretary of the largest dress local in the union. Played up as an "honest communist who refuses to take orders from Moscow", he attacked the United Front movement as a "Moscow manoeuvre". And this "communist" was put forth as the show window, as proof that the "union" was not all reactionary.

On February 8 many thousands of workers answered the strike call of the United Front Committee. The strike, it was later announced, drew into its ranks close to 7,000 workers. Instead of as previously when almost exclusively Jewish dressmakers struck, the leaders of the strike were met by young Negro, Spanish and Italian girls, for the most part, workers who had never before been on strike and who had not the slightest idea of what a union was.

The wages and hours of work were back to the pre-war days when the New York needle workers were just beginning to organise. Here are a few examples: working 13 hours a day,

6 days a week, workers in one shop were getting between \$15 and \$20 a week. In another shop the hours were 65 per week and the wages \$15. In a third between \$10 and 12 was the reward for 50 to 60 hours of labour. And in some places where the wages averaged between \$10 and \$15, there was no limit to the hours.

A week after the workers' United Front strike had been declared, the reactionary Lovestoneite-socialist strike was declared. When the workers still following these misleaders came out into the streets they were met by a huge picketing demonstration carrying placards, appealing for a united front above the heads of the fakers. The next day there were no photographs in the socialist sheet supporting the strike because the photographs could not avoid snapping the placards of the United Front Committee. The fakers were shocked and the whole chorus of capitalist, socialist and renegade press was mobilised to magnify the "harmony union" strike to immense proportions and to argue away the real, class struggle strike as non-existent. Naturally this failed. Facts cannot be rubbed out by ink smears.

The trade newspapers of the bosses immediately started to bemoan the fact that 'their' strike was a ludicrous failure. Only where the members of the Manufacturers' Association had ordered a stoppage of work, could the "union" claim a "strike". As a matter of fact, the manufacturers declared

International Mobilisation for the Struggle against War.

Switzerland

3rd to 9th April: Anti-war week.

Denmark

28th March to 3rd April: Anti-war week.

3rd April: Red Day against imperialist war.

Germany

6th April: Anti-war day.

Sweden

26th March to 3rd April: Fighting Week against the war.

Czechoslovakia

30th March to the 6th April: Anti-war week.

Luxemburg

Beginning of April: campaign against war.

about a week after the start of this "strike" that they might have to close down all their shops in order to force workers into the streets.

In the meantime, the real, militant strike was spreading. And what is more, manufacturers' began to appeal for settlements. The reactionary outfit started to deal with the Manufacturers' Association immediately after they had called their strike. After a few days of bickering as to how to word the agreement in tricky phrases which would not betray the real results, a settlement was announced, which left everything either the same as before or worse.

The revolutionary union with the United Front Committee has up to date (March 5) settled over 165 shops. And in every shop substantial gains were recorded. Besides getting union recognition the hours of work have been reduced and wage increases of \$2 to \$5 have been obtained. Special demands have been won for the youth. The strike continues and the prospects are that it will grow; for so bold a sell-out did the fakers engineer that workers are marching out of their shops and declaring real strikes.

On March 10 the United Front Strike Committee decided to terminate the dress strike. The statement issued declares that settlements were obtained in close to 200 shops. It reported that the results of the strike were to be used to solidify and spread the mass base of the union and to smash the clique of fakers who so shamelessly sold out thousands of dress workers.

CHINA

Soviet China's Fight.

(Letter from Shanghai.)

The fourth offensive of the Kuomintang armies is now commencing against Soviet China. The Chinese counter-revolution, which makes no attempt to defend China against Japanese and international imperialism, is already sending large forces against the Chinese Soviet districts. There is no doubt that the red troops of the Chinese Soviets will repel this fourth offensive with just the same energy and bravery and with just the same success as they repelled the first three offensives. The following letter, which has arrived from Shanghai after considerable delay, contains interesting details regarding life and the fighting in the Chinese Soviet districts.

"You ask why this work is so difficult? Why it was so hard to locate the main forces of the Reds? I will explain this to you. In the course of three to four years, in a district some hundreds of li in extent, hundreds of thousands of people were poisoned by Communist teaching. All adult men are either in the Red Army or in the Red Guard. Even the old folk, juveniles and women are militarily organised, for example in the laundries, in the pioneer and other auxiliary formations and in the Young Guard. They are the eyes and the ears of the Reds. They supply the Reds with food and provide them with hiding places. Thus the Reds, no matter where they may go, do not need to make any special preparations. They are at home wherever they are As soon as we venture to advance too far into the Soviet districts, transport becomes extraordinarily difficult. The whole of the population take to the mountains, taking all the stores with them. The old folk, women and children who are left behind are the spies of the Reds. We therefore have to be on our guard at every step. If our food supplies do not arrive from the base, we are compelled ourselves to gather in the harvest of the peasants and prepare our own food It is impossible to transport sick soldiers Thus the Reds here are the masters, while we are mere strangers. They can easily obtain what they need whilst we are continually labouring under difficulties. They enjoy rest, while we are continually exerting ourselves. They know everything, while we grope about in the dark"

These are the words of General **Tchen Min Sui**, who commanded the right wing of the Kuomintang troops in the third campaign of Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Soviets in Kiangsi. That the Kuomintang army found it very hard "to locate the main forces of the Reds" is of course a fact. The third anti-Soviet campaign was shattered. A white army, 300,000 strong, outnumbering the Red Army two to one and far exceeding it in regard to technical equipment and the qualification of its commanders, and in addition supported in every way by the imperialists, was forced to beat a hasty retreat, leaving behind more than 10,000 rifles and huge quantities of other equipment which fell into the hands of the Red Army. About 17 regiments of the Kuomintang army went over to the side of the revolution. Even now the Chinese Red Army are winning fresh victories over the Kuomintang. In the course of the months of December and January the important town of Kanchow as well as a number of smaller towns in the South of Kiangsi were cleared of whites, whilst in the North of Kiangsi the Red troops are approaching the gates of Nanchang, the capital of the province. The Kuomintang newspaper "Mingoshibao", admitted in its issue of December 17th that "practically the whole province of Kiangsi is in the hands of the Reds and is completely independent of the Nanking government". In the province of Hupeh, the ring of Red Armies is drawing closer round Wuchang, and red airmen are flying over the district where the three provinces of Hupeh, Honan and Anwhai adjoin each other, and scattering proclamations.

The kulaks, in alliance with the landowners, endeavour to set up their counter-revolutionary organisations in the

Soviet districts. In a Soviet district in West Fukien, the kulak-landowning elements have established an association under the name of "International Socialist Party" and have issued the slogan: "Long live the II. International, down with the Comintern!" They call upon the masses to fight against the Communists, demand the dissolution of the Communist Party, the Soviets, the Komsomol, the Red Guards and other revolutionary organisations, and advocate the formation of peasant Leagues, which would naturally be led by the kulaks and landowners in the "International Socialist Party". In order to delude the peasants they set up the following platform: 1. Land and peace (peace with the landowners). 2. Cease the fight against the big peasants. 3. Pay no land taxes (only the kulaks have to pay land taxes.) 4. Do not serve in the Red Army. 5. The peasants shall defend themselves (i. e. down with the workers and Communists). Following a revolt which they had organised, they openly entered the service of the Kuomintang clique, and the leader of this band of junkers and kulaks was appointed chief of the Mintuan, i. e. the junkers' militia. Here again the poor and middle peasants had an opportunity of realising the true meaning of these "socialist" slogans. The workers and agricultural labourers of West Fukien succeeded, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in rallying round them the poor and middle peasants for the fight against the kulaks and the miserable remnants of the landowners, for the consolidation of the Soviet Power and the strengthening of the leading role of the proletariat, for the extension of the agrarian revolution, for the mass organisations of the workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Whilst formerly, as a result of the diversion manoeuvres of the agents of the landowners and kulaks who had worked their way into the Soviets, distortions were committed in solving the agrarian question, now, thanks to the consistent fight against the kulaks and the remnants of the landowners, these distortions are being overcome. The Party organisations have increased their activity in drawing together the proletariat and the poor elements of the population. Trade unions of the town workers and agricultural workers, as well as groups of village poor, are being formed everywhere. Formerly, land was allotted to the families of the big landowners and their property was not confiscated. In some Soviets "they did not know" who, in a given village, were landowners and kulaks; and when, finally, workers, agricultural workers and poor peasants were summoned to liquidate all remnants of feudal landownership and to take up the fight against the kulaks, it transpired that those who did "not know" the landowners were themselves, landowners, kulaks, agents of the "Socialist Party" who had smuggled into the Soviets. Thus the landowners and kulaks were soon discovered and thrown out of the Soviets by the landworkers and poor peasants.

It further transpired that kulak counter-revolutionary groupings had attempted in a whole number of Soviet districts (here and there with success) to divert the fight of the Soviets against the kulak to the middle peasants, and to make use in their own interests of the discontent thereby evoked. Whilst the kulaks made use of the Right opportunists in the Party for the purpose of retarding the agrarian revolution, the kulak-junker counter-revolution made use of the "left" deviation in provoking the middle peasants against the Soviets. The counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists too did no wish to lag behind the kulak-junker bands in any way. Thus for instance, the recently discovered Trotzkyist organisation in Fukien worked in close co-operation with the "Socialist Party" and was financed by the landowners and kulaks.

The danger of the kulak-junker counter-revolution was particularly great in the central Soviet district of Kiangsi. Here the kulaks and the remnants of the landowners had organised the "Anti-Bolshevist League", which even succeeded for a time in obtaining a foothold in some sections of the Red Army. At the time of the first campaign of the Kuomintang against the Soviets this League organised a revolt and attempted to overthrow the Soviet Power in Kiangsi. The revolt of the Anti-Bolshevists was, however, suppressed and their organisation shattered. It is true, remnants of this organisation still exist today and the fight against the kulak counter-revolution is still going on.

As soon as the Party had consolidated the organisations of the proletariat and of the poor peasants and also the Soviets, and exposed the counter-revolutionary organisation,

the broadest masses of workers and peasants of the Soviet districts took up the fight against the kulaks and the remnants of the big landowners. When the "socialists" in West Fukien attempted for the second time to make a revolt, the working masses immediately crushed them with weapons in hand. The workers and peasants themselves seized the instigators of the conspiracy and handed them over to the court. The counter-revolutionary kulak-junker character of the "socialists", anti-bolshevists etc. was completely exposed in open court proceedings. The Communist Party of China, precisely because it has raised the organisational firmness and class-consciousness of the proletariat, the semi-proletarian elements and poor peasants to a higher level, succeeded in repelling the large-scale attack of the Kuomintang and the imperialists upon the Soviets, shattering the kulak counter-revolution in the Soviet district, consolidating the Soviets, driving the exploiting elements out of them, consistently extending the agrarian revolution, purging the Soviet districts from the last remnants of mediaevalism and strengthening the Red Army. Soviet China has thereby become a still greater threat to world imperialism. "The Communist rule is becoming the most firmly welded and powerful political apparatus in China, capable of determined action, with which no other apparatus in China can compare" writes the "Hongkong Telegraph" the organ of British imperialism in Hongkong.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Improvement of the Soviet Railways

By J. Löwenthal (Moscow).

Exactly a year ago, in the first quarter of 1931, railway traffic in the Soviet Union was in an exceedingly critical condition. The goods traffic had sunk very greatly at the end of 1930 and in February it declined on an average 36,000 waggons a day. It was the period of the greatest backwardness of the railways, which very seriously affected other branches of socialist construction. The restoration of responsibility for the care of locomotives, the reorganisation of the use of waggons, the improvement of the repairing shops, the commencement of general reconstruction, as well as other methods successfully carried out by the new management of the transport service, rendered it possible to overcome the backwardness of the railways in a relatively short pace of time. The total result of the past year shows that the tasks laid down for the railway service in the year 1931 in the Five-Year Plan were far exceeded. The goods traffic reached 90 per cent. and the passenger traffic to 153.4 per cent. of the proposals of the Five-Year Plan for the last year.

Nevertheless, this progress did not suffice in order to satisfy the growing requirements of socialist economy. The annual transport plan, based on the growing requirements in industry and agriculture, was carried out only 72 per cent. in regard to goods traffic and 97.2 per cent., in regard to passenger traffic.

The past two months of the current year, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, have again proved the correctness of the course adopted last year in regard to transport; they have brought new successes in the fight to improve the railways. January and February 1932 brought an increase of 34—35 per cent. in goods transport in comparison with the same months of last year.

The advantages of the new methods of work (rationalisation of the locomotive park, reorganisation of depots and stations; differentiation of wages etc.) made themselves strongly evident in the period of winter transport, in the fight against the severe weather conditions. The usual decline in railway transport in February, which was so noticeable last year, was this year for the greater part avoided.

The fact that a visible improvement has taken place in the Soviet railway system cannot be denied even by hostilely inclined observers of the Soviet Union who recently announced the approaching "paralysation of transport in the country". It is characteristic, for example, that the "Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen" has to recognise that "the increase in the number of serviceable locomotives from 68.5 to 79.1 per cent. in the course of the year represents a very remarkable change for the foreign observer".

In spite of this the work performed by the railways still remains considerably behind the transport plan. In January, the plan was fulfilled 87.3 per cent.; in February 80 per cent. The transport service still forms one of the weak spots in the development of Soviet economy, and in many cases represents an obstacle to its further development. Hence it is a most important task to bring about an improvement in the shortest possible space of time.

What are the most important factors in the development of the transport service in the current year?

According to the directives of the XVII. Party Congress, the lagging of transport behind the industrialisation of the country is to be overcome. It is intended this year to invest 2,550 million roubles in large construction work in the transport service. These figures show the extent and the pace of new construction work and reconstruction work in this sphere. As the electrification of the railways is regarded as the main factor in the reconstruction of the transport system, electrification work is to be commenced in earnest this year and will be concentrated in the first place in the Ural-Kusbas and the lines from Kisel to Tehussovaya, Tehussovaya to Gorablagodatskay and Gorablagodatskaya to Swerdlovsk, as well as the most important lines in the Don Basin. Preparations are already being made for the electrification of the Ssuram pass in the Caucasus; the first electric trains are to commence running here already in the second half of the present year. The total sum to be employed for electrification work and development of the means of transport in the present year amounts to 120 million roubles.

It is intended this year to expend a total sum of 513.8 million roubles on traction as well as on big repairs to the locomotives and the rolling stock, modernising of locomotives, waggons, water supply and equipping the depots. 493 million roubles will set aside for acquiring new locomotives and waggons as well as for the production of spare parts.

Much attention is being paid to the new building activity. Already last year, in spite of all the shortcomings in regard to building activity in transport, a considerable extension of the railway system took place. In all traffic commenced on 1368.5 kilometres of new line. Preparation is made to commence traffic on a further 1112 kilometres of line.

In the current year capital expenditure on new construction activity will be concentrated on the most important sections in order to render possible a speedy return on the capital expended. In all, nine new lines of a total length of 1338 kilometres and three bridges are to be completed and given over to traffic. Work will proceed on 26 lines of a total length of 1419 kilometres with four bridges. Of the new railway construction, mention should be made in the first place of the lines from the Donetz Basin to Moscow. According to a decision of the Transport Commissariat, the Donetz Basin-Moscow line is to be completed at latest in the year 1933. The extent of this work is shown by the fact that the main line for the transport of coal and metals will this year absorb sums amounting to 150 million roubles.

This reconstruction work and material improvements will, together with the further reorganisation of the work of the transport system, probably result in a considerable increase of the goods and passenger traffic. The railways are this year to convey 320 million tons of goods and 890 million passengers, which means an increase of 25 per cent. in comparison with the year 1931. It would be a mistake to assume that the improvement of the transport system depends only upon its reconstruction, only upon the growth and the renewal of its material and technical basis. This improvement depends to a great extent also upon an improvement in the management and running of the railways.

The socialist transport system is capable of fulfilling the tasks envisaged in the Plan and thereby contributing to the completion of the last section of the Five-Year Plan. For in the fulfilment of the transport plan lies one of the most important presumptions for the fulfilment of the whole plan of national economy, and therewith the slogan: "The Five-Year Plan in four years".

C. P. S. U. Decision on Socialisation of Cattle.

Moscow, 28th March 1932.

The newspapers to-day publish the following decision adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the 26th Inst.:

"In a number of districts practices are adopted which

represent in reality compulsory socialisation of the cows and small livestock of the individual collective farm members and flagrantly violate the repeated instructions of the Central Committee and the statutes of the agricultural Artels.

"The Central Committee declares with all energy that only enemies of the collective farms can tolerate any compulsory socialisation of the cows and small livestock of the collective farmers. The practice of confiscating the cows and small livestock of the collective farmers has nothing in common with the policy of the Party. The policy of the Party is to see to it that all the collective farmers have their cows and small livestock. The further extension and development of the collective farms must be carried out only by the breeding of the young cattle on the farms and by the purchase of cattle.

"The Central Committee instructs all Party, Soviet and collective economic organisations to stop immediately all attempts at the compulsory socialisation of the cows and the small livestock of the collective farmers. Party members disobeying these instructions are to be expelled from the Party. Collective farmers who own no cows or small livestock must be supported in purchasing the same for their own use."

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Economic Situation in Germany.

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

The Institute for Business Research, in its last quarterly report concluded down to 30th March, gives a survey which shows how the crisis of German capitalism is still deepening.

In **agriculture** there has occurred what the Communists predicted: The crisis has violently seized in its grip the great mass of small and middle peasant farms. As the economic policy of the capitalist class has destroyed the purchasing power of the working masses, the peasant farms lack a market for the sale of the products of cattle breeding, which formed their main basis.

The Institute for Business Research gives a series of important figures regarding this development. Pig breeding shows a decline in young pigs of 6.3 per cent., in pregnant sows of 15 per cent., in young sows 27 per cent., after the figures for December 1931 had showed a record stock of 23,800,000. The price of pork, although beyond the means of the masses of the impoverished proletariat, is in striking disproportion to the price of fodder. Numerous peasant farms have been obliged to reduce or abandon pig breeding altogether. A similar state of affairs prevails in regard to cow-keeping. The sale of fresh milk, butter and cheese has declined disastrously. To this has to be added the circumstance that Germany's milk production, again owing to the high price of fodder, caused by customs duties, and competition with countries with a lower price for fodder, has not increased. We see the same thing in regard to egg production, where in spite of the decline in imports of 21 per cent. compared with 1928, the home market has declined by 8 per cent. It is now clearly evident that the agrarian policy of the Brüning government, under the constant pressure of the big landowners, is **ruining the mass of the small and middle peasants in order to support big agrarian grain production.** The price of wheat renders bread in Germany 3 to 4 times as dear as in neighbouring countries. The prices of rye, oats and barley are also artificially maintained. The import of bran is completely prevented by a prohibitive tariff of 100 marks per ton in order to maintain the home price. This policy of the grain profiteers, while it has not been able to alter the position of agrarian capital which is becoming more and more deep in debt, has brought about the wholesale ruin of the peasant farms.

The Institute for Business Research give the following survey of the decline in the value of agrarian production:

	(in millions of Marks)			
	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32
Fruit grain and vegetables . . .	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.3
Cattle and cattle products . . .	6.4	6.3	5.4	4.2
Total	9.3	9.1	8.0	6.5

These figures emphasise firstly, that for the sake of a much smaller corn production, mainly of big agrarians, a cattle production twice as large, mainly of peasants, was ruined; secondly, that the decline of production much more seriously affects the peasant farms than the big landowners who grow corn. The consequences are to be seen in the fact that large numbers of peasants are no longer able to buy the necessary quantities of artificial fertiliser, so that their production is bound to decline still more. This situation of the large mass of the peasant farms explains why to-day, millions of German peasants have fallen prey to national-socialist demagogy.

The index of industrial production has declined from 70.17 in July 1931 to 64.2 in October and to 56.1 in January 1932. The decline is particularly noticeable in the production of the means of production.

In the hard coal mining industry the output of coal has declined from a monthly average of 13 million tons in 1929 to 11,527,000 tons in January 1931, and to 8,703,000 tons in January 1932. The production of brown coal receded from the monthly average of 14,538,000 tons in 1929 to 11,028,000 tons in January 1931, and to 9,596,000 tons in January 1932.

The production of crude steel, pig iron and rolled iron shows the following disastrous decline (in millions of tons):

	Pig iron	crude Steel	Rolled iron
Monthly Average 1929 . . .	1.116	1.353	1.063
January 1931	0.603	0.773	0.613
January 1932	0.358	0.400	0.334

The orders from the Soviet Union are of the greatest importance for the sale of German iron. In 1931, no less than 25.7 per cent of Germany's export of rolled iron went to Soviet Russia.

For the German machine-building industry Soviet Russia is the most important customer; it was only thanks to Soviet orders that the export was maintained at the level of the third quarter of 1931. Nevertheless, the situation in the machine-building industry is disastrous; in January 1932, the number of workers employed in this branch of industry had declined to 34.7 per cent, and of these 80 per cent were on short time.

The capacity of the automobile industry was utilised only up to 20 per cent in December 1931.

The situation in the building industry is one of absolute collapse: 88 per cent of the building workers are unemployed. The index of the production of building material has sunk to 33.1 per cent compared with 1928. In the year 1932 there are almost no means available for the building of dwellings.

As a result of the collapse of the building industry, the demand for timber for the building market sunk to one fifth of that of the previous year. The production of wood and wood pulp sank 20 per cent compared with 1930.

In the paper industry the number of workers employed declined 12 per cent compared with 1930, and of those remaining 64.4 per cent are working short time.

In the textile industry the degree of occupation has sunk to 60.1 per cent. The decline in the retail trade in textiles still continues.

In the leather industry 57.7 per cent of the workers were still fully employed in January 1932; in the footwear industry the percentage was 46.9; in the leather goods industry 31.7.

In the glass industry production sunk 55 per cent compared with the peak figure in 1927; only 42.7 per cent of the workers are still fully employed.

The dreary picture of the position of production is supplemented by the still worse picture of the misery of the masses. Referring to the decline in the national income, the Institute for Business Research states:

"As we have already mentioned, for the year 1931 one can estimate the national income, which in the year 1929 probably amounted in round figures to 76 milliard marks, at 50 to 60 milliard marks. If the present tendency continues the year 1932 will certainly yield an even smaller sum."

The economic collapse has still more serious effects on the income of the workers. Regarding this the report of the "Institute" states:

"As regards the development in the last few months, the income of the workers, which we are able to follow from quarter to quarter by means of a number of estimates, shows how dangerously and alarmingly the income has again fallen in the last few months. The income of all workers, employees and officials together amounted

in the fourth quarter of 1931 to approximately 7.8 milliard marks compared with 9½ milliard marks in the fourth quarter of 1930. That means a decline of 17 to 18 per cent. Compared with the peak figure in 1929, the income of the workers in the fourth quarter has sunk 25 to 30 per cent. . . . Already now we can estimate that the total income of the workers in the first quarter of 1932 will probably sink to 6.5 milliard marks and will be 25 per cent less than in the first quarter of 1931."

If we take into account that the Institute for Business Research is much too optimistic in its estimate of the present income of the earners, we can say without exaggeration that the income of the workers, employees and officials is today scarcely half as high as in 1929.

How does the Institute for Business Research judge the outlook for the further development? It seeks frantically for the famous "silver streak on the horizon". It is even prepared to regard the temporary stabilisation of prices in countries which have declared a moratorium as an "easing" of the situation. It derives hope from the cessation of the downward movement resulting from the depreciation of the Pound in England and from the (inflationist) extension of credit in the U.S.A. But in spite of all its attempts to find a glimmer of hope, the Institute for Business Research, in face of the depressing facts of the sharpening of the international crisis, finally comes to the pessimistic conclusion that the factors of the crisis are still working with undiminished force in the direction of a further worsening of the situation.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The VII. Party Congress of the C. P. of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The VII. Party Congress of the C.P. of France was held in Paris from 11th to 19th March. It took place at the time when the flames of war were already flaring up in the Far East, at a time when thousands of workers are fighting against the employers' offensive (8000 strikers in the shoe industry of Fougères, 8000 striking textile workers in Vienne, 1200 striking metal workers in Sedan etc.), at a time of increased government terror—during the Party Congress an unemployed worker was shot down by the police—but also at a time of powerful upsurge of our movement, which found expression in 4,414 new members being recruited for our Party and 15,000 new members for the C.G.T.U. since the beginning of the year.

The Party Congress was attended by 198 delegates, of whom 76 were factory workers and 25 unemployed. 93 delegates participated in the discussion. The Party Congress was opened by the political report of Comrade **Maurice Thorez**, the General Secretary of the Party, and supplemented by the organisational report of Comrade **Duclos**, the report of Comrade **Franchon** on the work of the Communists in the trade unions and the preparations for the economic struggles, and the report of Comrade **André Marty** on the fight of the Party against war.

Numerous delegates from brother parties (C.P. of Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Poland, Belgium etc.) addressed the Party Congress and emphasised the necessity for a joint struggle of the various Sections of the Comintern for the defence of the Soviet Union. The Party Congress sent a letter to the Communist Party of Germany, in which the Party pledges itself "to adopt all necessary measures in order to support the revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat against the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan".

The Party Congress received numerous messages of greeting from factories in the Paris district and unemployed committees, as well as dozens of telegrams from strikers' and mass meetings. The speech delivered to the Congress by a worker from the Citroen automobile works was very characteristic; on behalf of his work mates he appealed to the Party to pay attention to his works.

In spite of the weaknesses of the discussion, which Comrade Thorez mentioned in his closing speech, the Congress was very good on the whole. All the speakers expressed their complete agreement with the policy of the Central Committee and of the Comintern. The repeated attempts of the Trotskyists to smuggle their counter-revolutionary ideology into the Party

and to stir up doubts as to its capability to draw the masses into the fight, did not meet with response.

The disastrous activity of the opportunist-sectarian **Barbé-Célor-Lozeray** group was unreservedly condemned and the continuation of the fight on two fronts was unanimously approved. All theses and resolutions were adopted unanimously. The theoretical training of our members, both in the leading bodies and in the lower organisations, is still very weak. Hence the first part of Comrade Thorez' report dealing with the characteristic features of the crisis and the socialist construction in the Soviet Union was not touched upon at all in the discussion whilst the national (Alsace Lorraine) and colonial questions were only slightly dealt with in the discussion.

Our mistakes and shortcomings were subjected to the sharpest self-criticism. All the delegates expressed the determination not to shrink from any difficulties but to exert all forces in order to overcome our weaknesses.

In this respect, however, the delegates contented themselves with general remarks. The practical methods for realising the united front from below were not sufficiently dealt with. There still exists a certain tendency to consider the reformist workers and their leaders as one hostile bloc. Nevertheless, the Party Congress marks a certain progress in regard to a brotherly approach to these sections of workers. In view of the fact that at present a change in our favour is to be noticed in the relation of forces between the social democracy and our Party, the social democrats are resorting to demagogic "Left" manoeuvres in order to retain those workers who are beginning to turn away from them.

The application of the slogan: "class against class" at the next Parliamentary elections was unanimously approved, but some very superficial speeches at the Congress give reason to fear that many comrades do not yet realise the tremendous possibilities of the agitation and organisation campaign, the objects of which were laid down as follows: to increase our vote at the Parliamentary election, to convert every Communist elector into a member of the C.G.T.U. and to recruit 6000 new members for the Party.

The Party Congress decided to carry out a fighting week against the war from 24th to 31st March. All the delegates realised the prominent role of French imperialism in the feverish preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union and our great responsibility in the defence of the proletarian State. It was however necessary for the Central Committee energetically to oppose the view, which is shared by many comrades, that war is inevitable, that it is impossible to postpone it, as well as the frequent application of the radical formula on the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, which only mask passivity in the immediate fight against imperialist war. The Party Congress sent a message of greeting to the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, in which the Party pledges itself "to win the majority of the working class in the fight against the imperialist war, which has already begun in China, and for the defence of the fatherland of all toilers, the Soviet Union, in which Socialism is triumphing under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party". But the practical means for drawing the masses into the immediate fight as well as the main question of linking up the economic fights with the struggle against war were not yet sufficiently discussed by the Congress. Comrade Marty's report, which contains valuable material, will rouse the whole Party and promote mass actions. It is noteworthy that a soldier in uniform greeted the Party Congress as the "revolutionary General Staff" and that the Party Congress called for a rapid resumption of our anti-militarist work, which had been partly ceased under the fatal influence of the Barbé group.

The new Central Committee was unanimously elected. Compared with the former Central Committee it was numerically smaller but strengthened by active elements. The great importance which the Party Congress attached to the national movement of the population of Alsace Lorraine found expression in the fact that five comrades from this province were elected to the new Central Committee (out of a total of 44). The former Pol-Bureau was likewise unanimously re-elected by the Central Committee.

After a long period of stagnation we are beginning to advance again. Whether this advance will be a rapid one depends entirely upon us. This will be the case if we know how to penetrate into the masses, to mobilise the whole Party in order not to be taken unawares by the economic fights and if every one of our members considers himself to be a responsible leader, a leader of mass actions.

Bulgarian Workers Party Wins Members.

Sofia, 26th March 1932.

A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Bulgaria has just taken place with representatives from all parts of the country. Although the Workers Party is formally legal the session had to take place in all secrecy in order to prevent the police from raiding and breaking it up. The session dealt with the present political situation in Bulgaria and the danger threatening the legal existence of the party, with the organisational state of the party, and with the danger of imperialist war and in particular the danger of an intervention against the Soviet Union.

According to the report of the Organisational Bureau the membership of the party was approximately 6,000 at the beginning of January 1931; by July of the same year it had grown to approximately 12,000. At present it has approximately 30,000 members. Despite this splendid progress the session found the general organisation state of the party unsatisfactory and in particular the fact that in the big industrial towns the party has only 6,000 members. It was decided to make a big drive to increase the membership of the party amongst the industrial workers.

In the question of the war danger the session adopted measures for an anti-war campaign and drew up an appeal to be issued to the workers and peasants of Bulgaria against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union. The session also decided to hold the party congress in May if possible.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Against the Underestimation by the Young Communist Leagues of the Fight against Provocations.

By Argus.

In face of the intensification of the class struggle, the bourgeoisie, in its provocation of the workers, has gone over from the simple system of persecuting and keeping under observation individual revolutionary workers and organisations to the "Science of Secret Service", with a special technique, its own schools for training forgers of documents, "courses of training in Marxism" (in some countries there exist Marxist schools for police agents); and the establishment of special departments for dealing with individual revolutionary class organisations. In addition to the refined methods of the official police apparatus, there are the methods of the "private institute", under the leadership of industrialists, with a developed system of factory espionage, organisation of strike breaking, purging the workshops and factories of revolutionary workers. (In the United States, three of the largest detective institutes employ 135,000 agents.) The whole of this ramified system of provocation is under the leadership of some central organs, as for instance the Police International, in which **Schober** and the German police socialists play a leading role.

The methods of provocation-work against us are mostly in the direction of penetrating the revolutionary movement. **An end must be put to all lightmindedness, underestimation and neglect of the fight against provocation.** These faults show that we do not learn from the methods of the fight of the enemy against us, and reveal an underestimation of the **power, trickery and methods of the enemy.**

Precisely the last six months give us **plain examples** in this connection. We call to mind the shooting of many of our **comrades** and the **secretary** of the Young Communist League in **Yugoslavia**, the murder of our comrade **Koffardieff (Sasha)**, member of the Executive Committee of the **Young Communist International**, the killing of young Communists in the **Greek army**, the police actions against the **Young Communist Leagues of China and Poland**, the shooting of the **Secretary of the Communist Party of China**. The Young Communist Leagues in **Canada and Austria** have been prohi-

bited. In **Germany, France** and other countries, many leading young Communists have been arrested.

All this is the **result of work and assistance of spies and agents of the secret police—the result of provocateurs**. Truly a serious lesson for our Leagues, for those who still underestimate this question of the fight against provocations.

The chief object of the provocation of the bourgeoisie consists to divert the Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues, as leaders and organisers of the masses, from the solution of their revolutionary tasks of capturing and mobilising the masses in order to lead the working class into the revolutionary decisive fight.

Let us take a few examples.

Taking advantage of the **"Left" moods** in our own ranks, the German bourgeoisie attempt, with the fairy tale of acts of individual terror, phantastic stories of Communist outrages organised by the "bloody hand of Moscow" (Jüterbog), to incite feeling against us. The object of this provocation is to represent the Party as a Party of individual terror, to divert it from mass work and thus isolate it from the masses, to "decimate it".

The police also skilfully attempt to make use of **legalist tendencies**. At the last **XVII. International Youth Day** there were to be seen in some of our Leagues (Czechoslovakia, Berlin) illusions regarding the possibility of legally carrying out International Youth Day. Such legalist tendencies, which are in direct contradiction to what Lenin formulated in the 21 conditions for acceptance into the Comintern ("no trust in legality"), made their appearance also in other actions of our Leagues. The police make use of these tendencies for their provocation in order to divert us from carrying out our political tasks.

Such a method is employed by the Berlin police under social democratic leadership. With the "desire warmly to recommend us" to hold the intended demonstration at this or that place and time, the social democratic police president of Berlin, in certain cases, declared himself ready to permit the demonstrations. Behind this readiness there is concealed, as experience on International Youth Day and other occasions showed, a usual police provocation. But our comrades often fell into this trap by having illusions regarding the legal carrying out of the demonstration, and not thinking of regarding mass mobilisation from the point of view of revolutionary necessity for the fight of the right to the streets. 24 hours before our demonstration is to take place, it is prohibited by the police owing to "special unforeseen reasons". The result of our legalistic tendencies is, that when our demonstration is prohibited we stand unprepared in regard to mobilising the masses, and the object of the police provocation is fulfilled: we are isolated from the masses.

Examples of this kind of procedure by the police are to be seen in many countries: also in regard to the question of the issue of our press, suspension of prohibition under conditions etc.

The above examples show how right opportunism, the legalistic tendencies, serve the enemy. All legalism serves the abandonment and non-carrying out of that which Lenin always emphasised:

"The Party of the working class must, without sacrificing legality but without overestimating this for a moment, combine legal work with illegal work."

Not for a moment to abandon legal work. But also not to cherish constitutional and "peaceful" illusions.

That which the decision of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany rightly declared against individual terror, for the revolutionary mass struggle, applies in a still greater degree to the Young Communist Leagues, namely:

"... that anarchist-terrorist tendencies only serve to divert the working masses from the real class struggle, to repel the masses from the revolutionary advance-guard, to facilitate the dirty work of provocateurs of every kind and to supply cheap pretexts for bourgeois murder-incitement against the Communist Party."

And that:

"... he who allows his behaviour to be dictated by the enemies of the proletariat will give way to fascist provocations. He who breaks Party discipline is not worthy to be called a Communist."

These declarations of the C. C. of the C.P.G. are still not thoroughly understood and are even opposed. (Berlin-Wedding).

The Brandlerist-Trotzkyst groups outside of our movement, which are a constituent part of the policy of the class enemy, are likewise an instrument of the provocation by the enemy. They are used by the bourgeoisie and often have direct instructions to carry into our organisations slogans hostile to the line of the Party, for the purpose of isolating the Party and calumniating it and its leaders in the eyes of the Party and the masses.

We have already pointed out that the police not infrequently make use of inner Party fights and groupings and organise them for the purpose of provocations. Examples of this are to be seen before all in our Young Communist Leagues in the **Balkans** and in **Hungary**.

In order to be able successfully to conduct the fight against provocations, our Young Communist Leagues must likewise adopt exposing and precautionary measures against the "recruiting into our ranks of provocateurs". Provocateurs are recruited from all classes. Experience shows that with the coming over to our ranks of honest and militant young Nazi workers and young social democratic workers, the hostile class parties and the police agents attempt to bring provocateurs into our ranks. For this purpose these elements first enter revolutionary mass organisations in order later to enter the Y.C.L. and then to get into the Party.

The class enemy is often supplied with material as result of comrades boasting, gossiping, talking over matters in public houses and cafés and over the telephone, carelessness with documents and material etc.

All that has been said above shows the necessity for the Y.C.L. to **liquidate the opportunist underestimation of the fight against provocations and to call the attention of the masses to these methods** in order, in connection with the solution of our revolutionary tasks, to mobilise them against this evil. The fight against provocations can only be conducted in close connection with the fight against opportunist deviations on two fronts which, as we see, offer a favourable foundation for provocations.

In his work "Left Wing Communism" Lenin plainly emphasised:

"In many countries, especially in the advanced countries, the bourgeoisie are undoubtedly sending spies into the Communist Parties and will do so also in the future. One of the weapons in the fight against this danger is a skilful combination of legal and illegal work."

The task of learning to combine legal with illegal work confronts all Y.C.L.'s. It confronts the factory nuclei especially as an urgent question. The conspirative activities of the nucleus itself in the fight against the terror of the employers must be linked up through hundreds of channels with legal mass mobilisation.

The constant fight against provocations can and must be conducted with the **mobilisation of the masses in the factories**, against **factory spies**, against **strike-breakers**, against **agent provocateurs** at demonstrations, with **pilloring them in the press**, characterising their methods in special brochures, with **increasing the fight for the release of political prisoners**. A no less important task in this connection is the **constant maintenance of a close contact of our organisations with the arrested comrades**. We must instruct every young Communist how he shall behave **in face of the class enemy** on the occasion of a **discovery of provocations**, that is, **towards factory spies, police agents, in front of police commissars and before the Court**. All Y.C.L.'s must constantly fulfil this educational task.

These questions must be put in all seriousness precisely to the young generation, which has had but little experience in the fight against provocations. This does **not** mean that we fall into **panic and nervousness**, but that we **Bolshevistically connect these questions with the daily practice of our mass work and the mobilisation of the masses of the youth against the class enemy in the fight for the masses of the working-youth!**